1: Williams E.G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

726 Moleyns and his police were attacked in 1901 near Bogi on the Kumusi.[1] He, with a party of seventeen police, and a native corporal, with a party of five, sallied out against the hostile tribesmen, but 'Both simply couldn't make any distance; the natives were so numerous and harassed them every yard they went'. Returning, 'the natives followed them right back to the village and threw spears again from every track notwithstanding there were many dead on each track. This fighting, which was not of a desultory character but continuous and determined, lasted from 3.30 till dark'. Mr. de Moleyns estimated the attacking force at between 400 and 500; and it was thought that not one of the 200 rounds fired by the police was at a greater distance than 50 yards. One of these rounds, at any rate, fired from a Martini Enfield, is claimed to have gone through three men rushing in from a by-track, and another is claimed to have gone through two. Altogether, making allowance for a *soupçon* of exaggeration in the account, it seems obvious that the natives behaved in a very brave, even desperate, manner.

609 The Aiga people about Korisata tell a rather amusing
648 story of their first acquaintance with Europeans. A party of miners, with an escort of a few armed police, had pitched their tents on the Upper Opi, and a number of inquisitive savages went to investigate this strange encampment. Among them was a man Kaiora who tells the tale of his adventure with considerable gusto. Watching the camp with his friends he observed several of the miners' signed-on boys who wore *rami*, or short calico skirts. Seeing these *rami*, which in the distance he mistook for the bark-cloth skirt worn by Orokaiva women, Kaiora leapt to the conclusion that the miners' boys *were* women. With a number of others he set off in pursuit, and for greater speed discarded his spear and club, so that he out-distanced his companions. For a moment he had lost sight of the 'women' and was peering about in the bush to see which way they had gone when he suddenly felt himself grasped from behind, and beheld the totally new spectacle of a uniformed policeman. Others came to the policeman's assistance, and

[1] *Annual Report*, 1900–1, pp. 55, 56.

I:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Kaiora was hastily bound hand and foot to a pole like a pig. Now a white man—the first Kaiora had ever seen—made his appearance, and putting a gun to his shoulder fired a shot in the air. This was presumably to scare away the other Aiga who were not far off, but the prisoner, whether in the moment's distraction caused by the firing of the shot or in a sudden paroxysm of fear at the loud noise, wriggled or burst out of his bonds and made good his escape. The whole party of Aiga had for some reason fled, and were halted in an open space discussing the alarming situation and the loss of one of their number. Suddenly the flying figure of Kaiora appeared in the clearing, and on sight of him the whole body of Aiga set up a shout of terror and fled again, leaving the unhappy fugitive still far behind. Kaiora, a man of early middle age, is marked by premature greyness and an extraordinary wildness of eye which might well date from the time of this terrifying experience. According to himself he gave his friends, when he finally overtook them, an account of this new kind of human being and advised them to put aside their weapons and make peace. Disregarding this good counsel, however, they subsequently stole a cache of food left in a tent by the miners. For the rice and flour they had no use, but the tins of meat were punctured with stone tomahawks and their contents shaken out. This act of depredation brought an expedition from Ioma, and three Aiga men were shot dead. From then on they had a still better reason for fearing the white men, and they accordingly made no desperate resistance but a very sensible peace. I do not know whether we can accept this conclusion to my informant's story, though the rest of it is circumstantial enough to be true. The Aiga were as troublesome as any other tribe to the early whites, indeed it has been said that '. . . the people on the Opi river, between the Mambare and the Kumusi . . . were the worst offenders'; and they are described as 'truculent and aggressive'.[1] On the whole we may conclude that the Aiga as well as the other Orokaiva tribes made a very brave resistance against the white intruders.

[1] *J. H. P. Murray in Papua or British New Guinea, p. 330.*

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

died within a couple of months, these deaths were said to have been the result of sorcery. There was no strenuous effort to trace the sorcerer, because knowledge of his identity would bring the obligation to exercise fatal punishment, which would involve trouble with the Administration.

Retaliation by direct violence still takes place, although the Orokaiva are generally careful not to let it have a fatal result. If a woman is found to have committed adultery, her husband thrashes her. Traditionally, he has a right to take direct action against the co-respondent also, but nowadays he is more likely to tell his *naname* (friend), who calls the adulterer a series of uncomplimentary names in public and makes his position so intolerable that he will leave the village. The offender may go into the bush for a while, but generally he goes to some other village where he has a *naname* of his own who will give him shelter and hospitality.

If a woman suspects her husband of adultery, she accuses him loudly in public, and if the husband cannot satisfy her that her suspicions are ill-founded, she will gather her few belongings in a string bag and set out for her own village. This act of the woman, while she is in a mood of righteous anger, is regarded as retaliation. "Now," she cries as a parting shot, "you will have no one to cook for you!" Actually, it is not difficult for the man to find a friend's wife or some kinswoman to cook for him, but the routine of his life is upset.

Clearly, the sanction of retaliation is severely limited by the modern prohibition of killing, for it is necessarily somewhat abortive without the freedom to carry it through. Nowadays, the pattern is to leave the field rather than stay and fight it out. In domestic squabbles, either the guilty parties or the wronged ones who are unable to retaliate can leave the village until tempers have cooled. If arguments between segments of a village recur and seem to be developing into a feud, one section can break away to found a new village at a little distance from the first.

Retaliation is impossible when crimes are carried out surreptitiously so that the crime is discovered but the criminal is not known. There remains the sanction of self-injury, which makes the wrongdoer feel sorry for the wronged one and therefore ashamed of having caused him to suffer. F. E. Williams cites two cases of theft which illustrate the operation of this peculiarly oblique sanction. To make the thief realize the enormity of his offence, the owner of a stolen watermelon hacked the rest of his crop to pieces, and the owner of a stolen spear chopped down his house where he had left the spear. The injured man aggravates his own injury, so that pity for him will induce shame in the culprit. This attitude on the part of the injured man is largely a blend of anger and self-pity. It is called *sisira*.[8]

This sanction demonstrates how the Orokaiva tends to take revenge upon the person who hurt his feelings by punishing himself. This is something of this self-punishing, too, in the wearing of the *hevatu* (plant-emblem) as a symbol of abstention from food belonging to or prepared by someone who has wronged him.[9]

[8] F. E. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 333.
[9] *Idem.*, p. 116.